

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 32

Friday, August 9, 1968

Price 10c

Japan gov't tries to bar Halstead, Sheppard from youth antiwar parley



Fred Halstead at antiwar demonstration

By Barry Sheppard

TOKYO, July 31—Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and I arrived here in the evening of July 28 on the first leg of our around-the-world tour. But we were greeted in a somewhat different manner than other tourists. No sooner had we gotten into the line for customs inspection than we were singled out by Japanese immigration officials and taken to the office of the chief inspector. There we were asked if we intended to attend any of the antiwar conferences scheduled in Japan during August.

Halstead has received invitations to observe three such conferences. The first, the Antiwar Anti-imperialist International Conference on Aug. 3, is being organized by the more militant student and youth organizations of Zengakuren. The second gathering is the 23rd World Conference Against A and H Bombs (Gensuiken). The Japanese Socialist Party is the principal force behind this conference. The final conference is being organized by the Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee (Beheiren), a broad anti-Vietnam-war group.

After an hour of very polite conversation, we were told that we could attend the Gensuiken and Beheiren conferences, but that

the militant student conference was out. Under threat of being put back on a plane for another long ride to some U.S. possession, we signed a statement under protest that we would not attend the student conference, and we were allowed into the country.

It seems the Japanese authorities—with some encouragement from Washington—did not want us associating with the militant Zengakuren youth. But alas they forgot to check our hotel. Waiting for us outside of it when we arrived was a group of young Zengakuren members with red helmets and large stout sticks, who insisted that we attend their conference. What could we do but say "yes"?

And, as Halstead later explained at a press conference, the fact that we were told not to attend this conference only made us more interested in it. The organizers of the student conference vigorously pro-

(Continued on page 8)

Che's Bolivia guerrillas continue the struggle

--see page 4--

Seattle Panthers framed by cops

By Debbie Leonard

SEATTLE—Fifteen Seattle cops burst into the Black Panther Party headquarters here July 29 with a search warrant for two stolen typewriters. After rifling through desk drawers and searching cabinets and corners of the small storefront office, they examined the two typewriters in plain view on the desks. Then they put handcuffs on Black Panther captain Aaron Dixon and on Curtis Harris, who is Panther co-captain and Black Panther candidate for state representative. They were jailed without charges.

Word of the arrests spread quickly through the black community, and Black Panther supporters began gathering at the Panther Party headquarters. Elmer Dixon, Aaron's brother, and E.J. Brisker, also a Black Panther candidate for state representative, addressed a press conference. The Central Area Committee for Peace and Improvement sent a representative to demonstrate their support.

Brisker denounced the arrests as another example of harassment by "the racist dog pig cops" and demanded that all white cops be removed from the black community. He called for a police-review board of citizens from the community, which would have the power to bring charges against cops and indict them for brutality.

Police Trick

Elmer Dixon protested his brother's and Harris' confinement without charges, pointing out that this prevented attorneys from obtaining their release on bond.

As Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. senator, I went to the Panther Party headquarters to offer our support. When I got there, I found that the office was not large enough to contain the crowd of young blacks that had gathered, and people filled the sidewalk and street. The Panthers were organizing a protest rally to be held in the black community.

They welcomed the idea of a white-initiated support demonstration at the public-safety building downtown, which houses the Seattle police department and the city jail where Harris and Dixon were being held.

Within an hour, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Students for a Democratic Society, the Socialist Workers Party and Draft Resistance had contacted some 100



Aaron Dixon

people to picket the public-safety building. While Brisker and Elmer Dixon addressed a rally of over 200 blacks at Garfield Park, an ever-expanding picket line of militant whites began forming downtown.

Signs reading "Free Dixon and Harris," "Hands Off the Panthers," and "Black Control of the Black Community" were accompanied by the vigorous chant "Free Aaron Dixon, Free Curtis Harris," as we marched under the windows of the jail, before the eyes of an increasing number of cops sent to guard the entrances of the building.

Black Women Lead

After about an hour, we were joined by about 25 black sisters, who formed a contingent to lead the demonstration, chanting, "We Want Freedom, We Want the Power to Determine the Destiny of Our Community." They led us into a courtyard below the jail-cell windows where we were within earshot of the prisoners. There they addressed their imprisoned black brothers and sisters.

"Black brothers, black sisters, What do We Want?" And the answer came, "Freedom." And we all shouted, "Free Aaron Dixon, Free Curtis Harris." And a lone voice came back from the jail, "And free Joe."

A new chant started by the black women was picked up with gusto by everyone—"Pigs Off the Panthers," accompanied by

(Continued on page 8)

De Gaulle moves to curb students

By Robert Langston

The de Gaulle regime appears to be developing a two-pronged strategy in its efforts to prevent a revolutionary resurgence of the French student movement. At the same time that it is cracking down on revolutionary groupings, the government is discussing some limited concessions to the mass of the students on purely educational issues. The dual approach is intended to thwart a new student upsurge which may occur when school begins again in the fall.

Thirteen students have been indicted for allegedly "reconstituting" the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) which was declared "dissolved" by the regime in June. The 13 are being held in jail pending trial and face up to two years in prison if convicted. Those indicted include Alain Krivine, one of the best known of the student leaders. Another is the son of David Rousset, a "left-Gaullist" member of the National Assembly.

At the same time that it is seeking to destroy the student vanguard, the government is discussing certain educational reforms. The new minister of education, former premier Edgar Faure, speaking in the National Assembly July 24, attributed the student upsurge to a "profound malaise" due to "a faulty educational system that had become intolerable." He said that many of the students' grievances were justified. This is very different from the Gaullist line adopted during the recent election campaign, which blamed small groups of "agitators" for the student rebellion.

More concretely, Faure indicated concessions to two student demands. The government will no longer try to solve the problem of extreme over-crowding in the universities by reducing the number of students; and the practice of forcing students to specialize and thereby to choose their future professions by the time they begin high school will be ended.

None of these concessions and none of these words, of course, begin to approach the more advanced political demands raised by the students. Nor do they touch the roots of student discontent even in the purely educational sphere—the university as an instrument of capitalist society, used to produce the knowledge and skilled labor-force necessary to maintain capitalist profits, and not to satisfy human needs.

And so long as there is repression of the left, the opportunities for any kind of significant gains are narrowly circumscribed. The need is urgent for French and international efforts to win freedom for those imprisoned and to end the totalitarian ban on left groups.

Financial contributions for the defense of the persecuted revolutionaries may be sent to Emil Van Ceulen, Secretary, Fonds du Solidarite contre la Repression en France, 111 Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.

SWP petitioners setting N.Y. record

NEW YORK—Petitioning to place the Socialist Workers ticket on the state ballot is proceeding at record speed. To qualify, it is necessary to obtain the signatures of 12,000 registered voters, with a minimum of 50 coming from each of 62 counties.

In the first four days of petitioning, SWP campaigners obtained well over the minimum in 56 of the 57 counties outside New York City and anticipate completing the entire project in a few weeks time.

THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$3 a year; Canada and Latin America, \$3.50; other foreign, \$4.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada, \$9.00; all other countries, \$14.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$12.50; Latin America, \$23.00; Europe, \$27.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$32.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 32—No. 32

126

Friday, August 9, 1968

Interview with Seattle Black Panther leader

By Debbie Leonard

(Aaron Dixon is captain of the Seattle Black Panther Party. A student at the University of Washington, he was recently convicted of "unlawful assembly" for participating in a sit-in at Seattle's Franklin High School to protest the suspension of a black student. Debbie Leonard is the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. senator from Washington.)

Q. Why was the Seattle Black Panther Party organized?

A. Because we felt that a political party was needed in the black community so that the black community could get more political power, instead of being represented by puppets. It was organized at the end of April.

Q. What is the Seattle Black Panther Party's relationship to the Oakland, Calif., Black Panther Party?

A. Bobby Seale, Black Panther Party national chairman, came to Seattle to organize. The Black Panther Party is a national organization. We are a wing of the organization, whose national leadership is in Oakland.

Q. In the July 19 issue of *The Militant*, E. J. Brisker and Curtis Harris were incorrectly identified as minister of education and minister of defense, respectively. What are the correct designations?

A. There is only one minister of defense—Huey Newton, and only one minister of education—George Murray. Curtis Harris is co-captain of the Seattle Black Panther Party; E. J. Brisker is lieutenant of education of the Seattle Black Panther Party.

Q. What activities will you be focusing on in this area in the next few months?

A. The election campaign is the main thing we are working on now. We are concentrating on point number seven of the 10-point program: an immediate end to police brutality and control of the racist pigs that patrol the black community.

Q. You are running against a black Democratic Party candidate. What role do Afro-Americans within the Democratic Party play?

A. We have to politically educate them that they are not getting equal representation within the Democratic or Republican Party. Through our own independent black political party we can push the 10-point program and get what black people want.

Q. What kind of reception have you gotten in the black community?

A. We have gotten a real good reception in the black community. The amount of support has been surprising to me. The greatest enthusiasm has come from young people. We are growing rapidly.

Q. What kind of harassment are Seattle Panthers getting from the cops?

A. They have busted into our office already. One Panther gets arrested on an average every week. We have found out that they have orders to shoot Panthers on sight if any trouble breaks out.



GI BUTTONS

30 cents each—25 cents in quantities of five or more. Special price for GIs—25 cents each, 15 cents in quantities of five or more. Order from: Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Lowndes Panthers enter election

Ala. black party continues struggle

Lowndes County, Ala.

We the people of Lowndes County are still trying to better our conditions—politically, socially and economically. Therefore, we are still planning to run candidates for the general election in November, 1968.

These candidates will run under the emblem of the black panther. We have made some progress, some things have been accomplished; but we have not reached the point where we have any Negroes in office as yet in our power structure.

We will run candidates for the Board of Education, Board of Revenue and others. We must win. We are in a great struggle for righteousness and justice, therefore, we can not give up.

In order to get around in the county and try to educate our people and be represented in the law-making bodies, we must have sufficient funds. As you may already know, Lowndes County is the fifth poorest county in the nation. We are unable to solely support ourselves, therefore, we are asking you again to support us financially as you did in our struggle in 1966. Whatever contributions you can send us to help us continue on toward victory will be greatly appreciated.

Annie M. Rudolph
Community Chairman
Lowndes County

(Contributions may be sent to: Mr. Frank Miles Jr., Chairman, L.C.F.O., Route 1, Box 66, Hayneville, Ala. 36040.)

Violence in NYC? Cop can't believe it

New York, N.Y.

I think *The Militant* should rise up in defense of a policeman who is being unjustly treated. I'm talking about the officer who was answering the new citywide police emergency number, 911, when a man shot three people on the street.

A shopkeeper who witnessed the shooting called the emergency number, and he says the policeman who answered refused to take him seriously, saying, "You're pulling my leg."

For that the policeman is being removed from the answering service and receiving some unspecified form of discipline. I think it's very unfair. After all, what person who has lived in New York any period of time could possibly take seriously the idea that someone just gunned down three people? Things like that just don't happen in Our Town. Like it says every night on the city radio station, this is the city "where eight million people live in peace and harmony and enjoy the benefits of democracy."

H. C.

Sees no victory in Berkeley battle

Berkeley, Calif.

This letter is dealing with the July 12 issue of *The Militant* and its so-called "Berkeley Victory." Was it victory to gain the streets that were ours, was it victory to bargain with a city council that denied the permit in the first place?

Telegraph Ave. is the heart of the left-wing community in Berkeley; its shops, streets and people are ours. We should go to no one to ask for what belongs to us. To do that is a social-democratic posture. Lenin did not

want the streets of Moscow; he wanted the people to have the streets, the wealth and the means of production.

If we are to end a war of imperialism against the people of the third world, we are at war with the elite who run and regulate this country. We will accomplish nothing by using the institutions and channels that are created by these assassins and oppressors. To stop this genocide and brutality against our black and yellow brothers is the most important thing, not to go to a Berkeley city-council meeting.

The final and least important thing to remember is that the Berkeley Department of Pigs can do anything they want. They still have the power to deploy white phosphorous mortars, to gas, to beat and to impose a curfew. Berkeley will only be safe when the streets are ours by right and fight.

W. M.

Wis. CP leader may support SWP

Madison, Wis.

Michael Eisencher, secretary of the Communist Party of Wisconsin and a member of the national committee of the CPUSA, speaking at a recent forum sponsored by the University of Wisconsin Young Democrats, gave a qualified endorsement of the 1968 Socialist Workers Party ticket.

During the discussion period following Eisencher's presentation, he was asked by a member of the audience if he would support and vote for the Halstead-Boutelle ticket, if a McCarthy-era Wisconsin state law banning the Communist Party from the ballot could not be reversed before the election. Eisencher replied, "I think I would."

Pat Quinn

Meet Socialists in Your Area

3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Mike Maniskalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2. 351-0970.

Minnesota: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

Missouri: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

New Jersey: Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

New York: Albany: YSA, Irving Sherman, 26 Willett St., Albany 12210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

Ohio: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

Pennsylvania: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

Texas: Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

Utah: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

Washington, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

Washington: Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105 (206) 523-2555.

Wisconsin: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

Antiwar message found in a bottle

Warwick, R. I.

There was an article in the July 24 *Providence Journal* that I would like to share with you and your readers.

"It was like an adventure story for T. P. 3rd, 8, of Warwick, when he found an old (Coke) bottle with a note in it near Highland Beach.

"It could have been a note sent from Australia, New Zealand or some other far-off place. Or a message from a shipwrecked sailor.

"But times have changed.

"On Monday, when the excited lad opened the bottle, he found the now familiar message—'End the War in Vietnam!'

"The letter, sent by a member of the national Student Mobilization Committee, had been set adrift from Long Island on May 5."

There is more to the story, but I don't want to get the capitalists hard-up. The fact is that the bottle was launched by one socialist and one jester off a wall on a Friday night almost three months ago—only a few hundred yards from the finder's waterfront home. Who says capitalists are smart and research their findings?

Nick Anthony Stevens

JCR urges solidarity with banned French groups



GUARDIANS OF "FREEDOM." Paris cops during attacks on students at time of uprising. Now de Gaulle's regime is combining promises of academic reform with crackdown on revolutionary forces.

The following statement of the national bureau of the banned Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) was published in the July 18 issue of Action, the organ of the French Action Committees.

The revolutionary crisis of May brought Gaullism to the brink. It was able to save itself only through elections. But it is the first to realize that nothing has been resolved.

The fighting capacity of the student and workers' movements remains intact.

The government is not looking for the answer to its problems in the work of its parliamentary majority. It is seeking this answer in less "democratic" but more expeditious ways—the police and the repressive legal apparatus.

It is preparing for the start of the new academic year in its own fashion by bringing repression to bear on the revolutionary vanguard.

Those workers' organizations which remain silent about these arrests under the pretext that speaking out against them would be playing the government's game miss the point that this is an attack against the entire workers' movement. They do not see that by failing to react, they expose themselves in turn to victimization.

The national bureau of the Revolutionary

Communist Youth denounces the methods which reveal the weakness of a government compelled to drop its "parliamentary and democratic" mask. It calls on all militants and organizations which claim to represent the working class to demonstrate their solidarity by denouncing this repression that the government wants to keep quiet. It calls on them to prepare for the new struggles which will inevitably develop in the coming months. Because these struggles are not the work of a handful of agitators but the expression of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism.

French events featured in current ISR

The July-August issue of the *International Socialist Review* features a firsthand account of the role of the French students in the May-June uprising. This is an interview with Mary-Alice Waters, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, who covered the events in Paris for *The Militant*.

She concentrates on questions which have come to be hotly debated in the movement in this country, particularly that of "spontaneity" versus "organization" in the revolutionary struggle. Mary-Alice Waters describes student organizations which played key roles and the contributions of individuals like Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

In an article on "Positivism and Marxism in Sociology," George Novack discusses one of the central questions in the philosophy of history: does history have any regularities that can be scientifically known and used to foresee and shape the future?

The answer to this question divides Marxists from most contemporary historians who concern themselves almost exclusively with facts, events and names, and offer no explanation of why one event follows the next and what the main laws of history actually are.

Karl Popper, one of the most extreme proponents of the kind of thinking that rules out the possibility of discovering cause and effect relations in history, is the target of Novack's article.

The new *International Socialist Review* also contains an analysis of the developments in China by Ernest Germain and documents from the Fourth International on the revolutionary upsurge in France. The magazine can be obtained for 50 cents from 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10003. A full-year subscription costs \$2.50 for six issues.

Czech people withstand heavy Kremlin pressure

By Dick Roberts

AUG. 1—With the ultimate outcome of the current Moscow-Prague negotiations still unknown, the limited information available indicates a continuing heavy pressure on the Czech government to retreat from its reform measures. Slanders against the Czech regime and implicit threats of economic and military intervention have been played up in the Kremlin press.

On July 29, the day the negotiations opened in the small Czech town of Cerna, *Pravda* published a long, rather pointed article detailing the Czechoslovakian economic dependence on the Soviet Union. It stated that the USSR supplies Czechoslovakia with 80 per cent of its iron-ore imports, 63 per cent of its synthetic rubber and 42 per cent of its nonferrous metals.

The same day Moscow was reported to have alerted its troops in East Germany and moved major mechanized units to locations on Czech border areas. Soviet troops were also observed heading toward Czechoslovakia in Poland.

People Solid

Meanwhile it is evident that the Czech people stand solidly in support of resistance to Kremlin demands. *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Ray Vicker wrote from Prague July 23 that "letters, telegrams and telephone calls have been pouring into Prague from around the country, urging the nation's leaders to stand fast against Soviet pressures.

"We are fully behind the democratization process taking place in Czechoslovakia," says a statement signed by 2,700 workers at the Tesla Strasnice works in a suburb of Prague.

New York Times correspondent Henry Kamm declared in Prague July 28 that "throughout this country of 14 million, crowds lined up on street corners to put their signatures to a patriotic manifesto, an appeal to the reformist leaders that was published on Friday (July 26) in *Literarni Listy*, the leading liberal intellectual weekly. Support for the manifesto has come from all segments of the population. Hundreds of signatures have been collected . . . in factories, offices and organizations."

Typical of the Kremlin's tactics against Czechoslovakia in the pages of the Soviet press was a letter cited in *Pravda* July 30, allegedly signed by 98 Czech "workers" and virtually urging that Soviet troops occupy their country. If that was done, the supposed Czech workers wrote, "every honest man would feel more secure in his work."

"Czechoslovak steel has a life 40 per cent shorter than the world norm, some of its factories are using machines 80 years old . . . unsaleable goods have been piling up in certain plants which are still turning them out."

These figures suggest some of the reasons why the Czech people are determined to get the dead hand of Stalinist bureaucratism off their necks.

Some western CPs gag on Moscow's anti-Czech line

JULY 30—As the Kremlin escalates its pressure on the Czechoslovakian government to reverse the liberalizing reforms set in motion last spring, most of the Communist parties of Western countries have indicated one or another degree of sympathy for Prague as against Moscow.

This was confirmed in a July 30 survey of the *New York Times*, which found that support for the Czech government has come from the French and Italian Communist parties, the two largest in Europe, as well as from the Icelandic, Australian, Swedish and Chilean Communist parties, all of them normally staunch supporters of the Kremlin line.

This is not out of any new-found enthusiasm on the part of these various CP leaderships for democratization of the East European states. They have a long-standing record of supporting bureaucratic regimes, not to mention the stifling apparatuses in their own parties.

What they are worried about is appearing to side too closely with the Kremlin. They see the developments in Czechoslovakia as a convenient way of demonstrating their "independence" from Moscow. And this is supposed to help them find "coalitions" with bourgeois parties in their own countries.

Conspicuously absent from the list of supporters of the Dubcek government, how-



Kosygin

Demand Withdrawal

One wonders if the Stalinist hacks who composed this letter didn't reveal their own highest hopes a little too clearly in this assertion. In Kosice, near the negotiation site, a sign in a park in front of the cathedral stated, "We demand that Soviet troops leave our country."

In the British *Guardian* of July 26, correspondent Geoffrey Moorhouse describes a publicly televised report on Czechoslovakian economic problems by Professor Ota Sik, the leading theoretician of Czech economic reform. According to Moorhouse, Sik reported that "to buy a sewing machine a Czechoslovak has to work for 287 hours where a West German works for 88 hours; to buy a tin of jam he has to work over one hour compared with less than half an hour; to get a pair of nylons five hours against five minutes . . .

"Czechoslovak steel has a life 40 per cent shorter than the world norm, some of its factories are using machines 80 years old . . . unsaleable goods have been piling up in certain plants which are still turning them out."

These figures suggest some of the reasons why the Czech people are determined to get the dead hand of Stalinist bureaucratism off their necks.

CALENDAR

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Sat., Aug. 10: Fascism. Sat., Aug. 24: Black Nationalism. 11:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135.

BLACK NATIONALISM. A series of lectures and discussions. Fri., Aug. 9: The Black Worker; His Own Struggle and his Relationship to the Radical and Labor Movements. Fri., Aug. 16: The Colonial Revolution: Freedom Now, Black Power, and the Resurgence of Black Nationalism. 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

BLACK CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED FEDERATION OF TEACHERS: IS THERE A CONFLICT? Speakers: Rhody McCoy, Ralph Pointer, and Keith Baird. Fri., Aug. 9, 8:30 p.m. 873 B'way, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1.00. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



TWIN CITIES

THE BATTLE OF BERKELEY. Speaker: Peter Camejo, Berkeley student leader and SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Calif. Sun., Aug. 11, 1:00 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Minneapolis. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

by
George Breitman

25 cents

merit publishers

873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Bolivia guerrillas issue manifesto

By Alex Harte

The Bolivian guerrilla struggle is continuing. The guerrilla center established by Major Ernesto Che Guevara in November, 1966, still exists. It has called on revolutionaries in all movements and all nations to support its struggle. This is the central message of a declaration published in Havana July 20 by OSPAAAL, the Organization of African, Asian and Latin American Solidarity.

The declaration is by Inti Peredo, a Bolivian revolutionary who is political Commissar of the National Liberation Army set up by Che, and who served as second-in-command of the guerrilla front under Che.

His declaration is published as a special supplement to OSPAAAL's monthly magazine, *Tricontinental*. Also included is a message of solidarity from the executive secretariat of OSPAAAL to the ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional—National Liberation Army).

"Guerrilla warfare in Bolivia is not dead!"

Pope's 'no' on pill sets off a furor

By Evelyn Reed

The worldwide protest that has greeted the Pope's decree against birth control is a heartening sign that a large section of the Catholic population is determined to find its way to family planning with or without the consent of the pontifical head of its church. Rome's refusal to lift the ban on birth-control devices was so bitterly disappointing because many Catholics had expected some relaxation of the archaic restriction.

The Pope's reactionary edict will not stop them from practicing birth control. A 1965 study of white Catholic women in the U.S. showed that 78 percent had used contraception at some time. As the July 30 *New York Times* noted, it is "clear that on this particular question the authority of the papacy was already being challenged."

It will likewise be widely defied in Latin American countries with their predominantly Catholic populations. "Within the last three years, family-planning programs have taken hold in 16 Latin American countries," said the *Times*.

In a poll of 14,000 women in Caracas, Venezuela, "most of the women consulted said they planned to continue in the program despite the Pope's ruling." One woman, 32 years old and mother of five children, said, "My husband and I have made our decision. We are going to give the children we have an education and we cannot afford any more. Besides the doctor says I cannot have any more."

Unlike animals, most human couples are now able to choose whether they shall have children and how many. They can take into consideration all the circumstances of their lives in making their decision, from the health of the mother to their economic means of supporting and educating children. The Vatican's edict attempts to throw back civilized humans to the animal level and reject any scientific control over the processes of reproduction.

The authoritarian patriarchs of the Church, who do not have to bear the burdens of bearing and raising children, also seek to deprive women and men of their democratic and human right to family planning. In religion's name they are imposing a heavy load of guilt, remorse and fear, which can not only impair the joy of sexual relations but have serious psychopathological effects upon conscientious believers.

The wave of revulsion against the ban is bound to weaken the already declining authority of the Catholic hierarchy over its more enlightened adherents.

Subscribe to

GRANMA

Weekly Review from Havana

\$5.00 per year

Fair Play for Cuba Committee
165 Spadina Avenue, Room 32
Toronto 2b, Ontario, Canada

Inti Peredo declares, "It has just begun." Paying deep tribute to Che Guevara, Peredo refutes the imperialist and Stalinist arguments that the Bolivian guerrillas had been crushed once and for all with Che's assassination.

"The irreparable physical death of our friend and comrade, our Major Ernesto Che Guevara, as well as many other fighters, has been a rude blow to us. They, who were the purest and noblest of our continent's generations, did not hesitate to offer up the only thing they could—their lives—on the altar of human redemption.

"But these painful events, far from frightening us, strengthen our revolutionary awareness; increase our determination to fight for a just cause; make it stancher; and forge in the purifying and bloody crucible of war new fighters and leaders, who will honor and pay homage to those who have already fallen."

Vigorously condemned in Peredo's manifesto are those who call themselves revolutionaries but in fact "carried out anti-guerrilla propaganda," particularly the leaders of the Communist Party of Bolivia. "The CPB leadership speaks of the party's preparations for seizing power by 'all methods,'" Peredo declares. But, "When a party or a group sets itself the task of seizing power, that party or group must choose a specific method; not to do so is tantamount to not seriously thinking of seizing power . . .

"They want the guerrilla method to be scrapped after the first attempt results in failure, and they insist on the feasibility of the 'democratic' or reformist approach in spite of the permanent failure of the latter method."

Aid from Cities

Peredo states that the guerrilla front led by Guevara was unable to surmount the first phase of warfare when it must establish deep roots among the people, mainly among the peasants. "During this phase," he explains, "it is essential for the guerrilla force to be given aid from the cities. Our guerrilla center was denied this aid by political forces that knew of the existence of our movement."

He also denounces both the Moscow-line and pro-Peking CPs for refusing to support the guerrilla front and expelling members who joined Guevara's forces. "The people demand and are awaiting an explanation for this double-dealing. We do not intend to blame the CP for our temporary failure. We do not blame anybody for the outcome of this first phase. Our object is to establish the historic responsibility of the parties which in our country claim to be anti-imperialist fighters."

Peredo emphasizes that the guerrilla force "is not an auxiliary instrument of some other 'higher form of struggle.' On the contrary, we believe—and international experience so proves it—that this form of struggle will lead to the liberation of our peoples."

He continues, "In the heat of the struggle the different forces that have set themselves the goal of liberating their country will unite, and our National Liberation Army (ELN) will be joined by militants from various parties. Then the true alliance of anti-imperialist forces will be a reality."

In the message of solidarity to the ELN, included with Peredo's statement, the executive secretariat of OSPAAAL declares: "Neither U.S. imperialism with all its might and resources, nor the lackey governments and military cliques, nor the reformists and speech-makers will be able to prevent the struggle that is already underway in some of the Latin American countries and which in a not-too-distant future will reach continental proportions; round it will rally hundreds of men who have heard Major Ernesto Che Guevara's battle cry and who are readying themselves to take up his dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."

"The executive secretariat of OSPAAAL, expressing the feelings and convictions of all the revolutionaries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, declares before world public opinion its firmest and most determined support to the Bolivian National Liberation Army and its political commissar, Inti Peredo, to whom we send our message of solidarity and encouragement, which may be summed up by the historical phase of Major Ernesto Che Guevara: 'Ever Onward to Victory!'



Inti Peredo

Mexico City daily reports on world youth rebellion

Mexican students battle police

Several thousand people, mostly students, demonstrated in downtown Mexico City on July 30. The demonstration was attacked by police, and at least one student was killed and 400 injured. The action was called to protest police brutality in breaking up a July 26 rally celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the attack on Cuba's Moncada Garrison. Apparently for the first time in the recent series of Mexico City demonstrations, high-school students participated in large numbers.

We hope to have a firsthand report for our next issue.

Eduardo Tellez R. It deals with the "night of the barricades" and the views of the students on the reasons for their action.

This is followed by an interview granted by Alain Krivine, one of the leaders of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, to Mary-Alice Waters. Originally published in *The Militant* of June 21, it presents a Trotskyist interpretation of the events. *El Dia* also offers a translation of the interview granted by Rudi Dutschke to Mary-Alice Waters last February 18, which was published in the May issue of the *Young Socialist*.

A full page is devoted to an exchange of opinion between Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Jean-Paul Sartre. A number of photographs show students in action around the world.

Mexican youth will no doubt study the supplement with keen interest.

MURDER IN MEMPHIS

Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle

Articles by Paul Bontje, George Novack, Joseph Henson, and Clifton DeBerry

25¢

merit publishers

873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Reinaldo Arenas -Cuba's rural life shaped his art

By Harry Ring

In a recent speech to a congress of ANAP, the Cuban association of small farmers, Fidel Castro spoke in a friendly but candid way of how the revolution views the future of the peasantry. He explained why the operation of small, privately owned plots of land was a socially and economically outmoded form.

He assured them, however, that as long as they wished to continue as small farmers their right to do so would be respected. At the same time, he added frankly, the revolution would offer their children every opportunity to escape the social and cultural deprivations which are inevitable features of isolated peasant existence. The harsh realities of rural Cuban life have little relation to the idyllic pastoral picture in some people's minds.

I didn't think to ask about it at the time, but I'm certain that Fidel's views on this question have the enthusiastic support of Reinaldo Arenas, an author I interviewed while in Havana, earlier this year.

At 25, Reinaldo is considered one of Cuba's most promising young writers. His first novel, *Celestino Before the Dawn*, was an award winner in the annual com-



Photo by Harry Ring

Reinaldo Arenas

petition sponsored by *Union*, magazine of the Cuban writers' and artists' union. It has also been published in Paris. His second novel, also cited by *Union*, is being published in Paris and Rome and is slated for publication in Cuba. A U.S. publisher has also indicated interest in his work.

Reinaldo has been writing since he was 15, but he can be classified as a "primitive." He first went to school at the age of 11 and today has no more than a half dozen years of formal education.

Celestino is a blending of childhood experiences and images. Reinaldo was born on a farm outside the city of Holguin in the province of Oriente. The farm belonged to his grandfather and was worked by aunts, uncles and cousins, as well as by Reinaldo and his mother. (His father had left when he was an infant.) Although there were 20 people on the farm, there was still more than enough work for all.

From early childhood Reinaldo detested farm life. He's a soft-spoken man with a delightful sense of humor, but when he spoke of his early life he used such words as "backward," "pretty horrible" and "rather brutal."

Celestino tells of a boy on a farm who writes a poem about his life, carving it on trees. He then invents an imaginary cousin who he says is the author. The child and his cousin-self are persecuted by relatives and neighbors because they are different and therefore shouldn't exist.

While Celestino escaped into the world of fantasy, Reinaldo made his escape more concrete. At 11 he announced he was going to Holguin and live with relatives so that he could go to school.

Reinaldo's grandfather objected on the ground that he was needed in the work. But his mother, who had already begun to teach him to read and write, encouraged him to go, and he took off.

So, five years before the revolution, Reinaldo began school. When he was 13 he got a job making boxes. Attending the afternoon session at school he was able to work from four in the morning until noon. On piecework, he was able to earn as much as five dollars a week.

In 1958 things got bad in Holguin. The Rebel Army had already occupied a number of towns in the area and the city was virtually cut off and paralyzed. The school shut down and so did the factory.

Begins Writing

It was during this period that Reinaldo, now 15, began writing. (In four years he had gotten to junior-high-school level.) He wrote two novels during that time, which he describes as "just terrible." The first, he says with a grin, was a "washtub drama." It was a somewhat idealized version of his life. The boy lives not on a small, poverty-stricken farm but on a big prosperous one. He is rescued from rural life by a glamorous movie queen.

The second novel, he said, might have been interesting. But he wasn't up to handling the theme and it came out corny. As he described it, I thought he might have a plagiarism suit against the producers of *Bonnie and Clyde*. Reinaldo's was a sympathetic fictional treatment of a real-life Cuban bandit who, with his girl, blazed his way across the island until gunned down by Batista's cops.

Meanwhile, shooting of another kind was going on, and it began to arouse Reinaldo's interest. Among the places in Oriente already occupied by the Rebel Army was the nearby town of Velasco. Reinaldo decided to go see what it was all about.

Since he was so young and had no weapon, there was really nothing for him to do there. The guerrillas let him stay about a week, and then, he says, they told him, "Look, you're just a nuisance here. You have to go back home."

They told him, however, that if he got himself a weapon he could come back. But how was he to do that? Easy, they explained. Go back to Holguin, get a knife, kill a cop, and take his gun.

To 15-year-old Reinaldo that sounded like a dubious proposition. But when he got back to Holguin he found he had a new problem. Word had spread that he had joined the guerrillas, and his relatives wouldn't let him back in the house for fear of reprisals.

So Reinaldo got himself a knife. But he just wasn't up to using it. So on the eve of the triumph of the revolution, he found himself back on the hated farm.

"Grand Fiesta"

The first year of the revolution, he said, was like a grand fiesta. "We went everywhere to see what the revolution was doing," he said. "We even went as far as Havana for a big rally. They put us up at the Havana Libre!"

Then the revolution made it possible for him to escape the farm for good. He was given a scholarship at a school in Holguin to learn agricultural accounting. "I wasn't particularly interested in the subject," he said, "but it got me away from the farm." After a year's schooling he worked dutifully for a year on a newly intervened farm. Then he got his chance to make it to the big city. He took a competitive exam for an agricultural planning course at the University of Havana and was accepted. After a year, he went to work at INRA, the agrarian reform institute.

Throughout this whole period Reinaldo kept writing, mainly short stories and



Photo by Harry Ring

A HARD ROAD. Cuban farmer uses team of oxen to haul sugar cane to mill. The revolution has brought significant changes to countryside but the effects of generations of imperialist-imposed underdevelopment are not quickly or easily erased.

poetry. But he never showed a line of it to anyone. "It was very bad," he insists. Thinking it would lead him toward writing, he applied for entrance to the School of Letters at the University. At first he flunked the entrance exam because of spelling. He tried again and was accepted. But after a year he quit. "I just didn't have the time to work, write and study," he explained.

Then Reinaldo heard of a competition for a job as a storyteller at the children's department of the National Library. He applied and was told to take a children's story and prepare a five-minute oral version of it. He couldn't find a five-minute story so he wrote one.

It was the story of a child on a farm waiting, with great anticipation, for Three Kings Day (The Spanish version of Christmas gift-giving for children.) Traditionally, the child puts his shoes on the window sill to be filled by the Three Kings. The day comes and goes, and the shoes remain empty. The child walks off into the woods.

Reinaldo and the other entrants told their stories before two of Cuba's leading literary figures, who were acting as judges. They were much impressed with his story and even more so when they asked him whose story it was, and he told them he had written it.

After discussion, he was offered a job not in the children's section, but in the regular library. This was done to give him the opportunity to read and the time to write. "I mostly sat behind the bookstacks and read," Reinaldo recalls happily. He read indiscriminately and prodigiously — William Faulkner, Virginia Wolfe, James Joyce, Pablo Neruda, the Mexican Juan Rulfo, everyone.

Then, after the success of his first novel, it was decided he had outgrown the library. He was offered and accepted a job doing editorial and promotion work at the Book Institute, Cuba's new centralized publishing enterprise. Meanwhile, he continues writing. "I have three volumes of poetry," he confided, "but I don't have the nerve to show them to anyone."

Artist and Society
I talked to Reinaldo about the views that novelist Edmundo Desnoes had expressed when I had interviewed him, particularly his thoughts on the conflict an artist can feel between his work and his political commitment.

"I think that is more of a problem for writers like Edmundo who matured before the revolution," Reinaldo said. "For us, the conflict has not been so violent."

That doesn't mean there aren't any problems, he added. "At first our work was largely pamphleteering, paens of praise. It was pretty bad."

"Now, within Fidel's formulation — 'With the revolution, everything. Against the revolution, nothing' — we are developing a tendency to be more critical. The notion is developing of a critical literature that doesn't just go along unconditionally and unquestioningly."

"Most of us feel we are writing about men — about man," he continued, "and therefore about people who have weaknesses and defects. I may write about someone who is a revolutionary. But I would want to show him in a whole sense, not in a stereotype. I'm not going to write about the noble and stainless hero, because he doesn't exist. We're writing about man, and while the revolution started in 1959, man started a long time ago."

How does his situation compare to that of the writer in the capitalist world?

"In a sense, perhaps, he has a certain advantage. Works of art often have a certain tragic character. Having a clear point of attack might be a certain advantage. Here there is nothing to denounce. The writer under capitalism has no problem about that. Also, he can just retire to his ivory tower and write. Here the writer feels he must participate in the social reality. It's almost second nature for him. This means he may frequently not have as much time as he would like for his writing. So we can't say we're living in a paradise. But I must say I would certainly prefer these circumstances to those of capitalism any time."

Some still available in hard cover

Che Guevara Speaks

"Incisive and luminous selections" — The New York Times

\$4.50 (paperback, 95c)

MERIT PUBLISHERS 873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003

Black Liberation Notes

The mood among black ex-GIs

An informative article appeared in the July 29 *New York Times* describing the results of a nationwide *Times* survey of attitudes among Afro-American veterans of the Vietnam war.

The author, Thomas A. Johnson, found that "most Negro veterans of Vietnam interviewed by the *Times* said that they were now opposed to the war. Many said they would never fight again for the United States."

The article includes numerous quotes from the men interviewed, most of which reflect a deep disillusionment with the war and with U.S. society in general.

Said one former frontline soldier, "I find myself hating this (white) man so much, that (Uncle) Sam couldn't kill me, melt me, and pour me back into the Army or back into Nam."

Another veteran, a former army specialist fourth class, commented, "I'm ashamed of what I did in Vietnam. We did to yellow people what whites do to us. We were tricked by whites."

A retired Air Force staff sergeant, who put in 22 years in the service, was quoted as saying, "I wouldn't tell one of these kids around here that they should go into the service . . . I think I'd shoot one of

Mass. woman tells tax man it's too much

Mrs. Beatrice Smith of Newton, Mass. is putting up a one-woman battle against rising taxes. She plans to deduct \$1200 for each of her three dependents from her federal income tax this year, instead of the \$600 presently allowed.

"My income taxes are much, much greater than they should be," she says. "My back is against the wall."

Mrs. Smith is a 36-year-old black woman who works two jobs in order to support her three children. She says she is ready to go to jail if need be rather than continue to put up with a tax structure which "is geared against me and my kind." It is time that the tax burden be put where it belongs, "on the rich commercial real-estate owners, be they individuals, corporations, churches or schools," she asserts.

Mrs. Smith lives in a house on a dirt road for which she pays \$100 a month. She has to buy bottled water in gallon jugs for cooking and eating.

— Elizabeth Barnes

my kids before I let him fight for this country."

Many of the men commented on the fact that, as one veteran put it, "The brother in Vietnam closed his eyes to the prejudice he knew existed and hoped against hope that America would change because he fought for her. But it didn't make a bit of difference."

An intern who had served as a captain in a field hospital in Vietnam pointed to the white man's duplicity in using black troops in numbers out of proportion to the percentage of black people in the population, while maintaining "a strictly racist society back home."

He added that the white man is so "good" at this duplicity that he could "poison his mother and convince her that it's all in her own best interests."

Pentagon figures show that black people now make up 20 percent of the combat troops in Vietnam and account for 14.1 percent of those soldiers killed in action. They are reportedly about 10 percent of the population.

Some of the most interesting comments were those made by older veterans of the first and second world wars.

One 81-year-old veteran described how, when he was in World War I, he "believed everything" they told him. "They told us to 'go catch the Kaiser and everything'll be all right,'" he commented. "We went over there and fought, and the first thing I heard when I got back to Waco, Texas, was a white man telling me to move out of the train station.

"The trouble is the white man just wants to use you, then give you just enough to pacify you and not change things. The young people are onto him now, though. Yes, they're onto him."

Another veteran of the first world war remarked, "They must think we're goddamn fools, but we ain't. We're waking up, you hear me, the young people are waking us up."

There are now as many as 120,000 Afro-American veterans of the Vietnam war period who have returned to civilian life in the United States. Their growing radicalism cannot help but have an important impact on the black community as a whole, and black veterans are becoming a sizeable source of manpower and talent for the black liberation movement. The *Times* reports that already many black veterans are joining such organizations as the Oakland Black Panther Party.

— Elizabeth Barnes

YSA greets Japan antiwar parley Organized by leftwing students

New York, N.Y.

The Young Socialist Alliance extends our fraternal greetings to the International Conference to End the War in Vietnam.

We realize, as you do, that the focal point of the international class struggle is in Vietnam today; and that a victory for the Vietnamese revolution would be a victory for revolutionaries throughout the world. It is for this reason that the international antiwar movement must continue to grow and to deepen its influence.

For our part, we are pledged to carry on the struggle in defense of the Vietnamese revolution here in the United States. We will continue our efforts to mobilize in mass actions against this war the young people of this country, who have no reason to support the imperialist adventure in Vietnam—and who have every reason to oppose it.

We will continue to explain to American soldiers that the antiwar movement is on their side; that we are fighting to save them from slaughter in Vietnam, and that their interests lie with us and not with the generals and the politicians. Our demand is that the American troops be brought home now!

The struggle against the aggression in Vietnam must be an international struggle. For this reason we take special interest in your conference. We are confident that the result of your conference will be to strengthen international ties and consequently to help build a stronger international movement in defense of Vietnam.

Fraternally,

Charles Bolduc, for the
National Executive Committee
of the Young Socialist Alliance

Cincinnati Demonstrators picket governors



photo by Alan M. Wald

BRING THE GI'S HOME NOW. Antiwar pickets brought the message to governors' conference in Cincinnati. LBJ snuck in and out back door to address governors.

By Alan M. Wald

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — The Antioch College Student Mobilization Committee and the Cincinnati Draft Project organized one of the most successful demonstrations yet to occur in Cincinnati, on Tuesday, July 23. The occasion was the National Governors' Conference and the presence of a host of America's war-makers—from LBJ to Rockefeller, Reagan and Lester Maddox.

On two days' notice the Antioch SMC organized more than 70 students and townspeople, and arranged for transportation by bus and car to Cincinnati. The theme of the demonstration was "Bring the Trrops Home Now" and "End the Draft." Official signs carried slogans such as "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "Self-Determination for the Vietnamese," "Immediate Withdrawal Now," and "Governors Ride Cadillacs while GIs get Coffins." Demonstrators began arriving at the Cincinnati Convention Hall at 8:00 a.m., and by the evening there were over a hundred. About 7:30 p.m. a welfare-rights demonstration began on the opposite side of the governors' receiving line.

The demonstration was unusually militant for Cincinnati, where 80 Antioch students had been arrested last December during a sit-in at the draft board. The protesters sang and chanted loudly. Each

Antiwar forces plan action in Philadelphia

By Fred Feldman

PHILADELPHIA — Numerous Philadelphia antiwar groups have called for a march and rally Sat., Aug. 10, to demand that the GIs be brought home now and to commemorate the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The march will begin at 12:00 noon at City Hall and will end with a rally at Independence Hall at 1:00 p.m.

Sponsors of the action include: Student Mobilization Committee, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Veterans for Peace, the Temple University Vietnam Committee, and the University of Pennsylvania Summer Coalition for Peace.

Rally speakers include Dr. Otto Nathan, noted economist; ex-Pfc. Howard Petrick, presently fighting an undesirable discharge from the U.S. army for his antiwar and socialist views; Mrs. Ethel Taylor, chairman of Women Strike for Peace; and a representative of Philadelphia Resistance.

time supporters of Nixon, Wallace and Reagan passed, the protesters' chants doubled in volume and easily drowned out the reactionaries' taunts. At their peak the welfare march numbered 100, and the antiwar march over 150. The antiwar picket line was also joined by the daughter of Governor Philip Hoff of Vermont and her friends.

In the manner that has now become his normal means of getting about, LBJ was forced to dash in the back entrance of the Cincinnati Convention Hall to address the National Governors' Conference.

Boston meeting demands: Free Huey Newton!

By Garry Collins

BOSTON — Black Panther leader Bobby Seale, speaking here July 22, disclosed the existence of a tape recording which underlines the fact that Panther minister of defense Huey P. Newton was the victim of a police attack last Oct. 28, when an Oakland, Calif., cop was killed. Newton is now on trial in Oakland for murdering the policeman.

The recording is of a radio conversation the night of the incident between a squad-car cop and Oakland police headquarters. At one point, the cop radioed, "I see a Panther car. Send reinforcements." About 10 minutes later came the reply. "Work him over." According to Seale, the tape is in the possession of Newton's lawyer.

Seale told of the tape while addressing a rally of some 3,000 people in the Boston Commons.

In the course of his talk, Seale spoke of the Panthers' attitude toward coalitions with white radical groups. He observed that police are now acting brutally toward white people too, as evidenced by their behavior at least year's Oakland antidraft action and at the recent Berkeley barricades.

Seale explained the Panther's 10-point program for black freedom, which received an enthusiastic response from the audience.

Also speaking at the rally, which was sponsored by Resistance and the Peace and Freedom Party, were Bill Hunt of Boston Draft Resistance; Paul Lauter, chairman of Resist; and others.

After the rally, some of the audience stayed on the Commons beyond the 12:00 midnight curfew, recently enacted by Mayor White, to solidarize with the hippies, who have been constantly harassed by police. Early the next morning, they were attacked by the police. Many were beaten and arrested for curfew violation.

A 'literary' hatchet job on Malcolm X

THE SPEECHES OF MALCOLM X AT HARVARD. Morrow, 1968, 192 pp., \$4.95.

Archie Epps, assistant dean at Harvard, says that Malcolm X often stated his ideas "deceptively" and that Malcolm introduced "hustler" ideology and methodology into the movement. If Epps had any sense, he would have refrained from raising questions about honesty.

Take the title of this book, *The Speeches of Malcolm X at Harvard*, and the notice under the title, "Edited, with an introductory essay, by Archie Epps." Most people would assume from these that the Malcolm speeches are the body of the book. But they would be wrong. The speeches are only the tail; the "introductory essay" is the body.

The book is 192 pages long, but only around one-quarter (49 pages) contains Malcolm's three Harvard speeches and answers to questions. Of these three speeches, the first has already been in print for five years, word for word, in Louis Lomax's *When the Word Is Given . . .*, and the ideas of the other two, in many places word for word, can be found in *Malcolm X Speaks* (1965). (Malcolm did not prepare a new speech every time he spoke to an audience outside of New York; in a given two- or three-month period he might use the same material with appropriate modifications.)

Most of the remaining pages of the book are a wholesale attack on Malcolm in the "introductory essay," which does not have much to do with the Harvard speeches.

So Epps is really not in a good moral position to discuss deceptiveness. If this book is not technically a hustle, it comes close to it.

False Premise

Epps, an Afro-American, who was the moderator at the second Harvard forum and the opposing speaker at the third, justifies his book on the ground that "Malcolm X's ideas are often hidden behind imagery or stated deceptively in fiery rhetoric on one point or another." Therefore, "An analysis of Malcolm X's language is a way to begin to understand his thought." But this premise is utterly false. Malcolm thought clearly and spoke clearly, and his ideas are perfectly clear to anybody who is not too prejudiced to read or listen objectively. (The only problem of understanding comes from the fact that Malcolm grew and developed new ideas in his last year, after he had left the Nation of Islam. If the reader knows when Malcolm said something and locates it properly in the process of Malcolm's growth, there is no

problem of understanding whatever.)

Politically, Epps is a moderate; philosophically, some kind of anguished existentialist. In his years at Harvard, he tells us, he has "learned to be afraid of the uses of power, forced to be humble about life . . ." Perhaps it is this standpoint that prevents him from understanding Malcolm. In any case, he does not understand him at all, and his opposition to most of the things Malcolm advocated is so strong that he could study Malcolm's rhetoric, imagery and language for a hundred years and still not be able to add anything to an understanding of his ideas.

In addition, Epps, as a lover of "the wonderful world of the arts, of music, of drama," tries to make his analysis of Malcolm the occasion for a display of a certain kind of literary criticism—the kind some sophomores in English courses become addicted to. His typical method is to make an assertion about Malcolm—based sometimes on a misreading of Malcolm material, based at other times on nothing but his overheated imagination—and to think he has validated or proved his assertion when he adds a quotation from Shakespeare, Jan Kott, Kenneth Burke or even poor Marx.

The resulting picture is even less like Malcolm than William Styron's novelistic portrayal was like Nat Turner. Following are some of its aspects:

The Eppian Version

"Malcolm X seemed haunted by his own anger. He seemed driven, even captured by it." the kind of man "who sees the society and other men out of the madness that preoccupation with race bequeaths anyone." Toward the end of his life, he was "committed in what he did, not in what he thought." In addition, he was confused, assailed by doubt, and suffered from paranoiac delusions of persecution. He had tried to work out a more humanist viewpoint, but "Malcolm X did not stay converted." At his death, he was "still under Elijah Muhammad's control if only in some unconscious way . . .

"Malcolm X's racism . . . was considerable . . . Malcolm X left the Negro not only racial pride, but a certain arrogance that has now become the facade of an essentially rhetorical black nationalism." The black nationalist strategy which he advocated "was authoritarian and sought out someone to oppress within or without the group . . . Malcolm X was not a hero. The underside of America did not produce such a romantic character. Any

title given Malcolm X should not be romantic. . . .

"Malcolm X's post-Black Muslim phase found him advocating a political solution: anarchy. The criminal ethic of the hustler society was easily expressed in an anarchist strategy . . . Malcolm X urged the Negroes to adopt a full-fledged violent strategy, nearly anarchist in means . . . The hustler conception of society was consistent with his theory of history and his plan of Negro revolution . . .

On Revolution

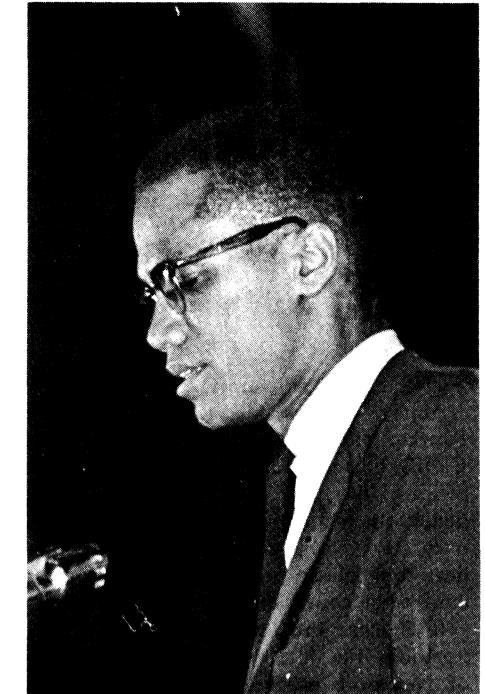
"Malcolm X continued to call for revolution throughout his public career. But he also urged escape. Revolution was his public strategy. Escape was his private strategy. Malcolm X actually sought this latter strategy only for himself." His "notion of revolution was romantic and thus highly personal . . . Of course, Malcolm X, like the black power advocates, did not mean revolution when he used the word. Malcolm X called for a 'street rumble' of sorts; that is surely different from either revolution or guerrilla warfare. What Malcolm X urged was anomic behavior on the part of the Negro masses."

Malcolm's "assessment of the Negroes' future in the secular sphere remained narrow and reactionary . . . He adhered to a hierarchic and thus conservative view of the world." He held to an archaic "theory of the yoke of slavery" and "never admitted that the Negro now lived in a different world [than slavery] and that the relationships of the races were qualitatively different . . . Malcolm X's theory of Negro leadership was at once elitist and populist." He demanded "a fierce man of the scum" to lead the black masses. "He did not really care about reason, modernization, and political power. . . .

"Malcolm X seemed to dress himself in the tattered costume of a slave when he addressed any audience . . . Was Malcolm X a prophet or a jester? . . . Malcolm X as prophet seemed to peer into the abyss. As jester he often played the role of a madman . . . There were, of course, sweet clowns and bitter clowns. Malcolm X was a bit of both, full of illusions and sometimes free of them." The absurd world of Samuel Beckett "was Malcolm X's world"; in it, "Malcolm X as the clown . . . would smile, and the prophet would appear to become the Uncle Tom."

On the Assassination

Epps also lists four major theories about Malcolm's assassination, but quickly discards those (including theories about the



Malcolm X

CIA and the New York police) which do not fit his pet notion: "It is very likely that an explanation of the assassination will be found in the hustler period (of Malcolm's life) or among a list of characters who pursued hustler competition with in the Black Muslim movement." He also assigns a share of the responsibility to Malcolm: "The very extreme principles around which Malcolm X organized the Black Muslim movement and the Organization of Afro-American Unity made the thought and justification of murder all the more easy and the glory of the deed itself something of value . . . As he waited for the assassins, Malcolm X described them. They were partially of his own creation."

The editing, finally, is of a low quality. There are many factual errors about names, dates and relationships. Nobody bothered to recheck the original materials which Epps grossly misinterprets, consciously or unconsciously. Nobody questioned gibberish passages ("He [Malcolm] was afraid that he would be assassinated. Instead he was brutally murdered, shot sixteen times," etc.). Epps' own editing of the last two Harvard speeches is not much better. Of the final speech only around two-thirds is given here; Malcolm's answers to some questions are mixed in as answers to other questions; and there is an utterly stupid transposition of one Malcolm passage from where it originally was and logically belongs to where the uncomprehending Epps thinks it belongs.

G. B.

The real Malcolm X

Autobiography of Malcolm X	(cloth) \$7.50	\$.95
Malcolm X Speaks	(cloth) \$5.95	.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History		.50
Malcolm X Talks to Young People		.35
Two Speeches by Malcolm X		.25
Poems on the Life and Death of Malcolm X		\$2.00
Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas		.25
by George Breitman		
The Last Year of Malcolm X, The Evolution of a Revolutionary	(cloth) \$4.50	1.95
by George Breitman		

MERIT PUBLISHERS

873 Broadway

New York, N.Y. 10003

clip and mail

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$3.)

Enclosed is \$1 for a 4 month introductory subscription.

Enclosed is \$3 for a 1 year regular subscription.

NAME

STREET

CITY STATE ZIP

Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

The Great Society

TELLS IT LIKE IT IS—Educators are a pretty sick bunch, according to Dr. Donald J. Leu, dean of the college of education at San Jose State College. He advised a group of educators they are "basically a pretty sick group—white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon and active in Boy Scouts." Furthermore, he added, "Most of us actively reflect the viewpoint of our board of directors, formed by bankers, lawyers and merchants. So we're not only sick, we're conservative."

NSA RE-FUNDED—We had been concerned as to how National Student Association officers would make out after the cutoff of the CIA subsidy was announced. But there's a substitute. The Ford Foundation just coughed up \$315,000 for a campus program that NSA associate president Schwartz said would "generate quiet revolutions instead of ugly ones." And, we trust, with proper expense accounts.

IDA'S STEEL-TRAP LOGIC—The Institute for Defense Analysis, the private outfit which handles Pentagon research projects, published a particularly brilliant study by Dr. Herbert Pollock, an IDA researcher. It simply destroys a report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry which suggested the preposterous notion that there might be a link between hunger and poverty. The report had noted that nutritional anemia seemed to be prevalent among poor children. Why, snorted the man from IDA, they don't even seem to know that half the kids with nutritional

anemia also have intestinal parasites, and it could well be this, not poverty, which causes the anemia.

GOT SOAKED—A couple of newlyweds spent their honeymoon diving Angel Falls, Venezuela, and succeeded in retrieving a case of Canadian Club, winning a company prize—a lifetime supply of the product—and an accolade from the company president, who declared them "the embodiment of everything we want to expect from the youth of America." If you're interested, there's another case sitting on top of Mt. Kilamanjaro in Africa.

PRAISE THE LORD AND PASS THE PITCHER—A *New York Times* dispatch from Cincinnati reports: "A Roman Catholic brother who is a food expert said tonight that two martinis 'back to back' were the most powerful communications media at the disposal of administrators. . . 'A single cocktail, for example,' he said, 'can relax management members enough to overcome the timidity and fear organizational structures create in staff members.'"

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"PARIS—Can a haute couturier concentrate on seams and silk, on jewels and furs, once he has seen the Sorbonne seized and Paris paving stones being thrown like Ping-Pong balls? That's the question looming larger than life on the first day here of the new winter collections."—Fashion reporter Gloria Emerson in the *New York Times*.

—Harry Ring

Panther Huey P. Newton faces white-packed jury

By Susan Harris

Aug. 1—Thus far, the trial of Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton in Oakland, Calif., has been concerned mainly with picking the jury. And, as could be predicted, the whole jury-selection process has only served to prove the Panther's contention that black people cannot get a fair trial in the courts of Oakland.

It is clear that, whatever its final composition, the jury will not be composed of Newton's peers. Only one black man has been accepted thus far—a loan officer from the Bank of America—and it looks like he may well be the only Afro-American on the jury.

The Black Panther Party has waged a consistent campaign around the idea that Huey P. Newton and all black people have a right to a trial by their peers—that is by black people from the same economic background.

During the jury selection proceedings, each prospective juror has been asked a series of questions to test his ability to

make an "impartial" judgement in the case. One question which has been responsible for eliminating a number of prospective black jurors has been, "Do you believe in capital punishment?" (California law allows for the death penalty in cases of murder.)

Of the first 33 prospective jurors questioned, 10 of them were dismissed because they did not believe in capital punishment. As Panther leader Kathleen Cleaver has pointed out, this means that not only black people, but the more "humane" white people are being eliminated from the jury.

Huey P. Newton's life is at stake. All those who want to join the defense campaign are urged to 1) Hold "Free Huey" demonstrations in their area, or hold a defense meeting to raise funds and to tell the real story of the Black Panther Party and the attacks on them by Oakland police. 2) Wear a "Free Huey" button. These can be ordered for 50 cents a piece from the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P. O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif.

(Continued from page 1)
loud "oinks." As we continued to march and shout, cops with tear gas canisters appeared. Some time after 10 p.m., Elmer Dixon arrived with a group of blacks. He addressed the crowd and directed some pointed remarks at the cops, "Your time is coming, you feel powerful now, but it won't last for long."

I spoke, expressing solidarity with the liberation struggle and pointing out that it was an international fight.

We began getting reports of action in the black community. All squad cars in district three were sent out, and we saw them pour out of the building, carrying helmets and gas masks. The cops at the door got jumpy, and one of the black sisters leading the demonstration warned, "Stay back, brothers and sisters, they'll run you down and call it justifiable homicide."

Shortly after the warning, a cop threw some mace at Elmer Dixon, and one reached out of his car window and slugged me, knocking the wind out of me.

We called the demonstration to an end at about 11:30 p.m. and decided to return the following day at noon if the two Panther leaders were still in jail.

7 and 2

In the black community that night, two young blacks were wounded, one seriously, and seven cops were wounded. Cops used tear gas to disperse crowds in several places. During the police harassment, windows in a number of businesses were broken, and several squad cars had win-

dows broken.

On Tuesday morning, Curtis Harris was released without charges, but bail was set at \$3,000 for Aaron Dixon, who was charged with "grand larceny by possession." (This charge referred to the fact that he was the head of an organization which had supposedly stolen a typewriter.)

Nearly 100 supporters crowded the courtroom for a bail-reduction hearing. An overflow crowd waited in the hall. Cops lined the courtroom as American Civil Liberties Union attorney Mike Rosen presented the plea.

Aaron Dixon, 19, is a University of Washington student who received a scholarship from the Urban League because of his talent as a poet. He lives at home, and his mother testified for him. The plea was turned down by Judge Storey Birds-eye on the basis of his "lack of stability"—as indicated by the fact that he was unemployed and unmarried.

The prosecutor's main contention was that Dixon was a danger to the community and the judge concurred with this. The anger in the courtroom was obvious, particularly when the judge assured us that there were no racial overtones to his decision.

Throughout this period of daily harassment by the cops, the Panthers have demonstrated great discipline. In addition to defending themselves locally, they are also engaged in a massive campaign to free Huey Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party of Oakland, Calif., and they are asking all individuals and organizations in this area to support this effort.

... Halstead in Japan

(Continued from 1)

tested the action of the immigration authorities to the press. We were the first of the foreigners invited to the conference to arrive, and if all were given the same treatment, it could disrupt one of the main purposes of the conference, which is to organize an international action against the war in Vietnam in the fall.

The next day, Reiji Matsumoto, chairman of the student gathering, called a press conference with Halstead and myself present. He outlined the purpose of the Aug. 3 gathering and explained that in addition to us, representatives of SNCC and SDS in the United States, the French JCR, the German SDS, and other groups were expected to come to the conference. Matsumoto said that an injunction was being sought to lift the ban on foreign guests observing the conference. Lawyers told us that the ban itself had no real legal standing.

The Aug. 3 conference is occurring at

a time of growing antiwar sentiment and action in Japan. Militant struggles are developing among peasants, workers and students against construction of airports and highways for military use, against the transporting of jet fuel and explosives destined for Vietnam, and against the presence of US military bases.

Antiwar activists here view these struggles, many of which have resulted in very militant action, as part of an overall struggle against the US-Japan security pact. This struggle will culminate in what promises to be massive actions in 1970, when the security pact is up for renegotiation. It is already a topic of daily discussion in the major newspapers, and antiwar groups are actively preparing for it.

One last note. When Halstead and I went to breakfast this morning in a restaurant near our hotel, we could not fail to notice a rather obvious police detail keeping tabs on us.

Unanswered questions in Cleveland shootings

By Eric Reinthal

CLEVELAND, Aug. 1—In the wake of last week's black ghetto rebellion and related events, the following questions emerge:

1) Was there police provocation in the events around the shootings and arrests in connection with Fred (Ahmed) Evans and his nationalist group?

2) Why was there a police raid and shooting at the Afro Set headquarters Tuesday night, some 40 blocks away from Ahmed's residence (the immediate area of the first wave of shootings)?

3) Why the failure to make arrests in connection with the killing of a black youth, Clifford Miller, by white assailants Tuesday night at East 79th St. and St. Clair Ave. (at the northern fringe of the ghetto)?

On Friday, first-degree-murder charges were filed against Ahmed, charging that he killed three Cleveland policemen. In addition the police prosecutor, James Carnes, also issued warrants charging Ahmed with possession of an automatic weapon and possession of marijuana. Bail on the first charge was set at \$100,000 and on each of the other two at \$75,000, for a total of a quarter-of-a-million dollars. Defense attorney Stanley Tolliver promptly protested the bail as excessive.

Further, both attorneys Tolliver and Lyonel C. Jones, director of the Legal Aid Society of Cleveland, stated that at no time were they present at police interrogations of Ahmed during which Ahmed is alleged to have admitted shooting or aiming a weapon at police.

Local civil rights activists and neighbors report that Ahmed and some of his followers had spent all day Tuesday cleaning and painting a new storefront headquarters in the Hough area, miles away from the scene of the first shootings. The landlord then reportedly reneged on the rental agreement.

Walter Beach, director of the Mayor's Council for Youth Opportunity, and Ward 27 councilman George Forbes stated this Monday that they spoke with Ahmed outside his residence 15 to 20 minutes before the first shots were fired last Tuesday. Beach said that Ahmed "seemed calm and not upset. We asked him to sit tight, and we tried to find a place for him to put his Afro Culture Center in, and he replied: 'All right, I'll be cool!'"

Beach said he saw what appeared to be an unmarked police car parked nearby with four men sitting in it.

Both Beach and Councilman Forbes had heard rumors that Ahmed was being evicted from his residence and also that the white landlord had just refused Ahmed a lease on the storefront that the nationalist group was cleaning and painting. Ahmed confirmed this.

Yesterday a Cleveland policeman, Thomas R. Gerrity, stated that on Tuesday afternoon he and four other task-force patrolmen were told to watch Ahmed's house at 12312 Auburndale Ave. and a green station wagon parked in front of it. He stated further that none of the basic police patrol was notified of an alleged arms build-up in that area. Gerrity complained that even his immediate superiors had no detailed knowledge of what was involved. He added that information on Ahmed was given to police by a paid informant. At the same time, despite the assignment of the task force to Ahmed's home, a spokesman for the city administration said police had no indication that automatic weapons were harbored in Ahmed's home or anywhere else. All this tends to call into question the whole "four city guerilla plot" featured in earlier news accounts given out by the police.

Shooting at Afro Set Headquarters

During the shootings near Ahmed's home a police guard was placed at the Afro Set headquarters some 40 blocks away. The Afro Set group, headed by Harrel Jones, makes and sells Afro art objects. Lyonel C. Jones, director of the Legal Aid Society of Cleveland, was present in the Afro Set store when the shooting there took place.

Also present were Harrel Jones and some members of the group, plus a Negro policeman assigned to remain there. The Legal Aid official said that at about midnight two squad cars of policemen arrived at the store. Eight policemen, including an unidentified captain, went into the store and fired a shot or shots into the ceiling.

The Negro policeman was ordered by the captain to return to the fifth-district police station, Lyonel Jones said, even though he protested that he was assigned there to guard the store by Cleveland law director, Clarence L. James, Jr.

Lyonel Jones stated the police then made everyone leave the store.

Later, when there was a report of police firing on an apartment building on nearby East 83rd Street, Jones and some of the others returned to the store.

Police pulled up in front of the store and moments later Law Director James arrived. James identified himself and the police car fled.

The law director said that he and a Negro detective chased the police car and failed to get a response from the patrol car over the police radio. While the patrol car was found 15 minutes later cruising without lights, the law director refused to identify the policemen other than as a patrolman, a sergeant and a captain. James said that some of the bullets directed by police at the 83rd St. apartment building were armor piercing and went through brick walls into living quarters. Mayor Carl B. Stokes declined to comment on the incident.

White Suspects Released

On Friday a white 39-year-old East Sider and his two teen-age sons were released because of lack of evidence in the killing of 22-year-old Clifford Miller at East 79th St. and St. Clair, on the northern perimeter of the ghetto. Miller was killed as he stood on the corner with two other black youths. A friend with Miller said that two cars approached the corner and shouted racial insults and then shot Miller. There have been no further arrests in connection with Miller's death at this writing.

Chicagoans build antiwar action

By Debbie Notkin

CHICAGO—Antiwar groups are carrying on mass leafleting projects to build the Aug. 10 Hiroshima Day demonstration against the Vietnam war. The demonstration is sponsored by the Chicago Peace Council, a coalition of antiwar, community and radical groupings.

The Chicago Student Mobilization Committee is playing a major part in the leafleting for Aug. 10. It has already printed more than 20,000 psychedelic leaflets, which are being given out on high-school and college campuses and night spots frequented by Chicago youth.

The Chicago Guerrilla Transit Theater is distributing the Student Mobilization leaflet after their surprise performances on Lake Michigan beaches. The group is also planning to give a performance Aug. 10 at a strategic point in the demonstration.

High schoolers are playing a central role in building the demonstration. A July 22 meeting of Chicago-area high schoolers decided to organize caravans to leaflet major Chicago high schools now in summer session. They also make up a large part of the leafleting teams organized by the Student Mobilization Committee which are penetrating Chicago's Old Town area and rock band concerts.

Another high-school group, the newly formed Suburban Liberation Front, has taken on the responsibility of publicizing Aug. 10 in eight major suburbs. They project a large suburban turnout at the demonstration, setting a precedent for suburban participation in Chicago antiwar actions.